

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

ACDA-07 IO-13 /080 W  
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R 121156Z NOV 76  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7604  
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 18238

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, UK, YO  
SUBJECT: CROSLAND VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA

REF: BELGRADE 7290

1. FCO YUGOSLAV DESK HAS GIVEN US SUMMARY READOUT OF CROSLAND VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA WHICH CLOSELY PARALLELS THAT REPORTED REFTEL. FCO INCLUDED A FEW ADDITIONAL POINTS WHICH MAY BE OF INTEREST. CROSLAND'S OBJECTIVES IN MAKING VISIT, IN ADDITION TO LENDING UK SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED YUGOSLAV INDEPENDENCE AND MEETING THE POTENTIAL POST-TITO LEADERSHIP, INCLUDED A HOPE TO ASSIST YUGOSLAVIA IN BUILDING ITS RELATIONS WITH THE EC (CF. REFTEL PARA 7).

2. SOVIET-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS. DOLANC TOLD CROSLAND  
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THAT HE DID NOT SEE A REAL SOVIET THREAT TO YUGOSLAVIA

FOR THREE REASONS: ANY AGGRESSION WOULD BE IN DIRECT OPPOSITION TO BREZHNEV'S POLICY OF DETENTE; OVERT INTERVENTION IN YUGOSLAVIA WOULD DESTROY THE USSR'S STANDING WITH THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS; AND SUCH AGGRESSION WOULD ENDANGER IF NOT RUIN THE PRE-EMINENT POSITION OF THE CPSU AMONG THE WORLD'S COMMUNIST PARTIES. DOLANC CLAIMED THAT YUGOSLAVIA WOULD SUCCESSFULLY RESIST WHAT HE FORESAW AS A CONTINUING SOVIET CAMPAIGN OF SUBVERSION AND PROPAGANDA, BUT HE ADMITTED THAT THERE WERE THREE CATEGORIES OF YUGOSLAVS SUSCEPTIBLE TO WOING BY THE "COMIFORM." THESE INCLUDED THE OLD-LINE STALINISTS, A LUMPENPROLETARIAT ELEMENT WITH NO FIRM CONVICTIONS, AND A SMALL GROUP OF IDEOLOGUES WHO HAD DECIDED THAT MOSCOW WAS THE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE. (FCO PRESUMES THAT THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE FIRST GROUP AND THE LAST, IF IT EXISTS, IS ONE OF AGE.)

3. CSCE. BRITISH AND YUGOSLAVS FOUND THEMSELVES IN SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT ON CSCE QUESTIONS. YUGOSLAV SIDE INDICATED IT WAS PREPARING TO LAUNCH (PERHAPS AT BELGRADE CONFERENCE) A PROPOSAL FOR A "YEAR OF CULTURE" IN L978 OR L979. THIS "YEAR" WOULD BE SPECIFICALLY PEGGED TO CSCE BASKET III.

4. ALBANIA. YUGOSLAVS FELT THAT THE ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP HAD BEEN UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHINESE RADICAL WING BUT HAD GRUDGINGLY ACCEPTED THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW CHINESE LEADERS. WHILE NOT MAKING ANY PREDICTIONS REGARDING THE LONGEVITY OF HOXHA AND HIS REGIME, THE YUGOSLAVS FELT THAT ALBANIAN FOREIGN POLICY WOULD CONTINUE TO BE MARKED BY XENOPHOBIA AND A STRONG SENSE OF NATIONALISM FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

5. US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS. INEVITABLY, THE SUBJECT OF PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER'S COMMENTS ON YUGOSLAVIA CAME UP.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 18238

THE YUGOSLAV LEADERS SEEMED INCLINED TO REGARD THE INITIAL DECLARATION OF INTENT NOT TO COMMIT TROOPS IN CASE OF SOVIET INTERVENTION AS CAMPAIGN RHETORIC AND SAID THEY PLACED GREATER FAITH IN THE CONVERSATIONS HELD WITH GOVERNOR HARRIMAN. ZARKOVIC TOLD CROSLAND THAT HE BELIEVED IN "FRUITFUL RELATIONS" WITH THE UNITED STATES AND IN EXTENSIVE YUGOSLAV-US COOPERATION "IN EVERY AREA."

6. MISCELLANEOUS IMPRESSIONS. KARDELJ SEEMED TO BE IN EXCELLENT MENTAL CONDITION AND IN PRETTY GOOD PHYSICAL SHAPE, ALTHOUGH OBVIOUSLY ILL. SPECIFICALLY, HE WAS ABLE TO STAND WITHOUT DIFFICULTY, BUT HE DID WALK WITH A PRONOUNCED LIMP (WHICH BRITISH BELIEVE IS CONNECTED WITH A WAR WOUND RATHER THAN WITH HIS PRESENT ILLNESS).  
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LIKE EVERYONE ELSE BRITISH ARE HESITANT TO PUT ALL THEIR MONEY ON ANY ONE HORSE IN THE POST-TITO SWEEPSTAKES, BUT CROSLAND AND HIS PARTY SENSED THAT DOLANC SPOKE WITH GREAT FORCEFULNESS AND FRANKNESS - AN INDICATION, IN BRITISH EYES, OF CONSIDERABLE CONFIDENCE IN HIMSELF FOR BOTH THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

7. CROSLAND OBVIOUSLY ENJOYED THE VISIT AND WAS PLEASED WITH THE WAY IT RAN. ADMITTING THAT THEIR VIEWS MAY BE TINGED BY THE PAROCHIALISM OF A FOREIGN MINISTRY DESK, OUR FCO CONTACTS BELIEVE THAT CROSLAND NOW HAS A TRUE - AND FAVORABLE - APPRECIATION OF YUGOSLAVIA.

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**To:** STATE  
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